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ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	AGRE-00	AID-01	A-01	CA-02	CCO-00	COME-00
	OASY-00	DS-00	FBO-01	IMMC-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	ADS-00
	MFLO-03	MMP-00	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OCS-06	OIS-01
	OPR-01	PC-01	PER-01	PM-00	PRS-01	SCT-03	SSO-00
	SS-00	TRSE-00	USIE-00	ASDS-01	FMP-00	PMB-00	DSCC-00
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O 301636Z JUN 94
FM AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4001
CIA WASHDC PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY
SECDEF WASHDC//ASD:FM&P// PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY
DIRNSA WASHDC PRIORITY
HQDA WASHDC//DAPE:// PRIORITY
JOINT STAFF WASHDC//J-3: JOD/ATE, PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BUJUMBURA 002262

STATE FOR AF/C AND AF/EX

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: AEMR, AMGT, BY
SUBJECT: RECOMMEND END OF ORDERED DEPARTURE IN BURUNDI

REF: BUJUMBURA 1885

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1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. ON JUNE 29, BY A VOTE OF 10 TO ONE, THE EMERGENCY ACTION COMMITTEE AGREED THAT U.S. AND BURUNDIAN INTERESTS WILL BE BEST SERVED BY AN IMMEDIATE END TO ORDERED DEPARTURE. TWELFTH PERSON RECOMMENDED AS A COMPROMISE THAT THE ORDER BE REVIEWED IF THE QUESTION OF BURUNDI'S PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION IS SUBSEQUENTLY RESOLVED.)
3. THE REASONS FOR THIS DECISION SEEM CLEAR TO THOSE RESIDENT

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ARCHIE M BOLSTER
DATE/CASE ID: 23 JAN 2004 200301564

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AND WORKING HERE. BEFORE LISTING THEM, LET ME RECALL, FROM MEMORY AND PERHAPS INACCURATELY, SOME LINES FROM THE OPENING SCENE OF SHAKESPEARE'S "TEMPEST," IN WHICH A ROYAL ADVISOR REMINDS THE SHIP'S CAPTAIN OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THE KING'S LIFE, SAYING, "KEEP IN MIND WHO IT IS WHOM YOU HAVE ABOARD" TO THIS THE SHIP'S CAPTAIN REPLIED, "NONE THAT I LOVE MORE THAN MYSELF." I SUPPOSE THAT IF THERE ARE ANY WHOM MEMBERS OF THE EMERGENCY ACTION COMMITTEE MIGHT LOVE MORE THAN THEMSELVES IT WOULD BE THEIR DEPENDENTS AND FAMILY. YET, THE COMMITTEE ALMOST UNANIMOUSLY BELIEVES BOTH THAT IT IS SAFE FOR DEPENDENTS AND ALL PERSONNEL TO RETURN, AND THAT THIS ACTION WOULD BEST SERVE U.S. AND BURUNDIAN INTERESTS.

4. THE REASONS ARE THESE:

-- FIRST, THERE IS NO EVIDENCE FROM THE HISTORY EITHER OF THE PAST THREE MONTHS, OR THE PAST 30 YEARS, THAT AMERICAN CITIZENS ARE IN PARTICULAR DANGER HERE. BURUNDI IS AN EXTREMELY DANGEROUS PLACE FOR MANY BURUNDIANS, BUT HAS NOT BEEN FOR AMERICANS, AND DOES NOT APPEAR TO BE PARTICULARLY SO NOW. A COUNTRY, LIKE AN INDIVIDUAL, SHOULD BE CONSIDERED INNOCENT UNTIL PROVEN GUILTY. BURUNDI HAS A BAD CRIMINAL

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RECORD AGAINST ITS OWN CITIZENS, BUT HAS HAD NO ATTACKS AND NO OFFENSE AGAINST AMERICANS. IT IS UNFAIR AND ILLOGICAL TO EXPECT BURUNDI TO IMPROVE ITS RECORD TOWARD AMERICANS, SINCE IT HAS NO RECORD OF ATTACKS AGAINST THEM.

-- SECOND, THE DEPARTURE WAS ORDERED AS A PRECAUTIONARY MEASURE WHEN IT WAS FELT THAT VIOLENCE WOULD SPILL OVER FROM RWANDA INTO BURUNDI. THREE MONTHS LATER THAT HAS NOT HAPPENED. BURUNDI AND RWANDA MAY BE BROTHERS OR SISTERS, BUT THEY ARE NOT TWINS. THE HORRENDOUS CARNAGE IN RWANDA WAS IN PART PRECIPITATED BY AN INVASION FROM TROOPS TRAINED IN FOREIGN COUNTRY. ALTHOUGH THE SLAUGHTER WAS OFTEN CARRIED OUT BY THUGS, STREET GANGS AND LOCAL EXTREMISTS, IT WAS DIRECTLY ENCOURAGED BY TWO SEPARATELY TRAINED AND ARMED MILITARY FORCES. BURUNDI HAS HAD INCURSIONS ACROSS ITS BORDERS SUCH AS PALIPEHUTU IN 1991, BUT THERE HAS NOT BEEN, NOR IS THERE NOW ANY CREDIBLE MILITARY THREAT TO THE BURUNDIAN ARMY, FOREIGN OR DOMESTIC. IF DEPENDENTS AND NONESSENTIAL PERSONNEL WERE REMOVED FROM BURUNDI BECAUSE OF THE FEAR THAT THE WOUND WOULD TEAR FROM RWANDA INTO BURUNDI, THAT FEAR CAN END, BECAUSE THAT HAS NOT HAPPENED.

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-- THIRD, BURUNDI'S EMERGING DEMOCRACY IS FRAGILE AND FEEBLE BUT ITS WEAKNESS DOES NOT OF ITSELF ENDANGER AMERICA DEPENDENTS AND PERSONNEL. THE PACE OF BURUNDI'S PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION IS STILL PROCEEDING FALTERINGLY. IT MAY BE RESOLVED BEFORE JULY 10, OR MAY NOT BE RESOLVED WITHIN A MUCH LONGER PERIOD, BUT THIS WEAKNESS BRINGS NO DIRECT THREAT TO THE SECURITY OF AMERICANS.

-- FOURTH, IT WAS THOUGHT BY GENERAL DALLAIRE THAT UP TO
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MILLION RWANDANS MIGHT BE DISPLACED IN SOUTHWEST RWANDA AND COULD PROCEED INTO BURUNDI, CAUSING UNREST HERE. UNHCR REPRESENTATIVE SHELLY PITTMAN INFORMED US THIS MORNING THAT 75,000, NOT 2 MILLION, HAVE CROSSED THE BORDER, BUT THERE HAVE

BEEN NO SIGNIFICANT UNREST RESULTING FROM THEIR ARRIVAL AND CERTAINLY THEY HAVE NOT THREATENED AMERICANS.

-- FIFTH, IT WAS THOUGHT THAT THE FRENCH MILITARY PRESENCE IN RWANDA MIGHT EVOKE ANTI-WESTERN OR ANTI-AMERICAN FEELING HERE. IN REALITY, HOWEVER, THE PROTEST MARCH ON JUNE 22 BY TUTSIS AGAINST THIS FRENCH ACTION WAS ENTIRELY PEACEFUL, AND NO HOSTILITY TOWARD AMERICANS HAS BEEN REPORTED. IF A FOREIGN COMMUNITY WERE AT THIS TIME TO BE CONSIDERED ENDANGERED IT WOULD BE THE FRENCH. YET, WHILE THEY HAVE HAD SOME STAFF LEAVE EARLY ON SUMMER VACATION AND HAVE RESERVED SPACES FOR DEPARTING COMMERCIAL FLIGHTS FOR THOSE WHO MIGHT WISH TO LEAVE, THE AMBASSADOR'S WIFE REMAINS HERE AS DO MOST FRENCH EMBASSY STAFF.

5. THE DCM VOTED TO CONTINUE ORDERED DEPARTURE POINTED TO THE STILL UNCERTAIN PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION PROCESS, AND, THE INTER-ETHNIC CONFRONTATION IN BURUNDI THAT OCCURRED IN THE

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ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	AGRE-00	AID-01	A-01	CA-02	CCO-00	COME-00
	OASY-00	DS-00	FBO-01	IMMC-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	ADS-00
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OPR-01	PC-01	PER-01	PM-00	PRS-01	SCT-03	SSO-00
SS-00	TRSE-00	USIE-00	ASDS-01	FMP-00	PMB-00	DSCC-00
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O 301636Z JUN 94
FM AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 BUJUMBURA 002262

STATE FOR AF/C AND AF/EX

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: AEMR, AMGT, BY
SUBJECT: RECOMMEND END OF ORDERED DEPARTURE IN BURUNDI

LAST FEW DAYS (SEPTTEL). BECAUSE A PRIME RESPONSIBILITY IN ANY
EMBASSY IS THE PROTECTION OF AMERICAN CITIZENS, THE GENERA
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UNCERTAINTY IN BURUNDI DOES NOT, HE BELIEVES, WARRANT A RETURN
OF DEPENDENTS AND "NON-ESSENTIAL" PERSONNEL.

6. THE END OF ORDERED DEPARTURE WILL NOT END THE EMBASSY'
SCRUTINY OR CAUTION. FOR THE FUTURE, WE WOULD WANT, AS TRIP
WIRES, TO CONSIDER THE FOLLOWING:

(A) HAS ANTI-AMERICAN FEELING DEVELOPED, FOR ANY REASON, THA
WOULD ENDANGER AMERICAN CITIZENS?

(B) IS THERE A WELL-ORGANIZED SERIOUS MILITARY FORCE FRO
WITHIN OR WITHOUT BURUNDI'S BORDERS THAT OPPOSES GOVERNMEN
MILITARY FORCES? IF SO, DOES SUCH A CONFLICT THREATE
AMERICANS?

(C) IS THERE A DEGREE OF CRIME OR TERRORISM THAT PUT
AMERICANS IN PERIL?

7. ENDING ORDERED DEPARTURE WOULD ALLOW A RETURN T

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EQUILIBRIUM IN THE EMBASSY. MANY AMERICAN PROGRAMS PARTICULARLY THOSE OF AID, ARE AT BEST ON HOLD, AND SOME ARE LIKELY TO BE WITHDRAWN, IF THEY DO NOT PROCEED AT THIS TIME TO MOVE BEYOND NORMALCY TO PROGRESS, THESE EXCELLENT PROGRAMS NEED TO PROCEED.

8. FURTHER, THE BURUNDIAN GOVERNMENT EFFORTS TOWARD DEMOCRACY CAN BE IMMENSELY STRENGTHENED BY THE SUPPORT OF THE WORLD'S MOST POWERFUL NATION AND ITS OLDEST DEMOCRACY. THE RETURN OF AMERICANS WOULD BE WIDELY VIEWED AS A VOTE OF CONFIDENCE IN DEMOCRACY ITSELF, AND AMERICAN LEADERSHIP HERE WOULD PROBABLY BE FOLLOWED BY CONFIDENCE INSTILLED IN OTHER FOREIGN

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COMMUNITIES, SOME OF WHOM FOLLOWED OUR LEAD IN THE EXODUS. FRAGILE AS IT IS, BURUNDI'S DEMOCRACY IS THE ONLY MAJORITY RULE, DEMOCRATICALLY-ELECTED GOVERNMENT IN CENTRAL AFRICA. DOES IT NOT FIT AND PROPER THAT THE WORLD'S STRONGEST NATION AND OLDEST DEMOCRACY SHOULD NURTURE THIS FOUNDLING? BURUNDI'S DEMOCRACY HAS JUST BEGUN. IF WE APPEAR TO ABANDON IT BEFORE IT IS EVEN WEANED, OTHERS MAY QUESTION OUR COMMITMENT. BUT IF IT SURVIVES, WITH OUR SUPPORT, IT MIGHT IN LATER YEARS BE A SURPRISING MODEL OF SELF-GOVERNMENT AS SOUTH AFRICA HAS PROVEN TO BE. AND, THEN, AS IN SOUTH AFRICA, THE U.S. COULD LEGITIMATELY CLAIM, SOME PARENTAGE.

9. FINALLY, THE EMBASSY'S OWN WORK WOULD IMPROVE IN TWO WAYS FIRST, THE RETURN OF PERSONNEL, INCLUDING THE WORKING SPOUSES WOULD BRING THE EMBASSY BACK TO FULL STRENGTH. BUT SECOND, IT WOULD SHOW RESPECT FOR THE JUDGMENT OF INDIVIDUALS WHO HAVE 20 HOURS, YEARS LONG EXPERIENCE ON THE GROUND IN BURUNDI AND WHOSE LIVES ARE DEDICATED TO THE WELLBEING OF OUR COUNTRY AND ITS PEOPLE.

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